

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1009 Adults  
Dates: January 23-26, 1993

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

**FINAL**

Study #4036  
NBC News/WSJ  
January 1993

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>		<b>[13]</b>	<b>[14]</b>
<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>1</b>	

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered .....	8	<b>[15]</b>
	1	<b>1</b>
Not registered.....	1	
	8	
Not sure.....	1	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Right direction.....	47	45	15	34	<b>[16]</b>
Wrong track.....	27	32	71	48	
Mixed (VOL).....	14	11	9	13	
Not sure.....	12	12	5	5	



3. What would you say are the **two or three** most important issues or problems facing the nation today that you personally would like to see the federal government in Washington do something about? (**DO NOT READ CHOICES.** ACCEPT NO MORE THAN THREE RESPONSES. BE SURE TO CLASSIFY PROPERLY. IF UNSURE, WRITE RESPONSES BELOW. IF "ECONOMY," PROBE FOR SPECIFICS.)

<b><u>ECONOMY (net)</u></b>	<b><u>4</u></b>		<b><u>TAXES/GOVERNMENT SPENDING (net)</u></b>	<b><u>3</u></b>	
	<b><u>8</u></b>			<b><u>7</u></b>	
Economy generally . . . . .	2	<b>[17</b>	Budget deficit . . . . .	2	<b>[19]</b>
..	2	<b>]</b>		4	
Farm problems, agriculture, drought	-	>	Government waste, mismanagement	5	>
Inflation, prices . . . . .	2		Taxes--too high . . . . .	6	
..					
Interest rates . . . . .	1		Taxes--unfair . . . . .	4	
Jobs, unemployment . . . . .	2		Welfare abuse . . . . .	3	
.	5				
New industry needed . . . . .	1		<b><u>SOCIAL PROGRAMS (net)</u></b>	<b><u>6</u></b>	
				<b><u>0</u></b>	
Savings and loan industry . . . . .	-		AIDS . . . . .	3	<b>[20]</b>
Trade, imports . . . . .	2		Child care, day care . . . . .	2	>
.					
Wages, better jobs . . . . .	2		Education, schools . . . . .	1	
				4	
<b><u>FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE (net)</u></b>	<b><u>1</u></b>		Elderly . . . . .	3	
	<b><u>7</u></b>				
Central/Latin America . . . . .	1	<b>[18</b>	Health care, costs . . . . .	3	
.....		<b>]</b>		8	
Defense spending--cut defense budget . . . . .	1	>	Homelessness . . . . .	1	
				2	
Defense--strengthen . . . . .	1		Housing . . . . .	1	
..					
Eastern Europe . . . . .	-		Poverty/social services . . . . .	3	
Foreign aid--reduce . . . . .	2		Social Security/senior citizens . . . . .	3	
.					
Foreign policy . . . . .	4		<b><u>OTHER DOMESTIC PROBLEMS (net)</u></b>	<b><u>3</u></b>	
				<b><u>0</u></b>	
Middle East/Iraq.....	5		Abortion--pro-choice . . . . .	4	<b>[21]</b>
Russia/Former Soviet republics. . . . .	-		Abortion--pro-life . . . . .	5	>
Somalia/Africa/famine.....	2		Censorship/limiting free speech . . .	1	
War; keep peace; nuclear arms race.....	2		Crime . . . . .	9	
Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Serbia.....	1		Drugs . . . . .	6	
			Environment, pollution, toxic wastes	3	
			Flag burning . . . . .	-	

Government corruption . . . . .	2	
Gun control--against . . . . .	-	
Gun control--for . . . . .	1	
Morality/values . . . . .	3	
Racism . . . . .	1	
Other.....	2	[22]
None/not sure . . . . .	3	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several people and institutions who are active in public affairs. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
<b>George Bush</b>							[23]
January 1993.....	21	31	20	14	13	1	
December 1992.....	18	28	18	19	15	2	
May 1992.....	11	28	19	21	20	1	
<b>Bill Clinton</b>							[24]
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
December 1992.....	26	34	18	10	9	3	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
<b>The U.S. Congress</b>							[25]
January 1993.....	4	20	27	28	16	5	
May 1992.....	2	16	20	31	27	4	
<b>Ross Perot</b>							[26]
January 1993.....	16	26	24	16	14	4	
December 1992.....	13	22	27	18	15	5	
May 1992.....	12	20	25	7	6	30	
<b>Al Gore</b>							[27]
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
December 1992.....	21	30	21	10	9	9	
<b>Hillary Clinton</b>							[28]
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	
December 1992.....	21	25	25	8	11	10	

- 5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

Approve.....	5	<b>[29]</b>
	1	
Disapprove.....	1	
	6	
Not sure.....	3	
	3	

- 5b. Since the election, has your opinion of Bill Clinton become more favorable, less favorable, or has it stayed pretty much the same?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
More favorable.....	27	28	[30]
Less favorable.....	11	5	
Stayed pretty much the same . .	61	66	
Not sure.....	1	1	

- 5c. Since the election, has your opinion of Hillary Clinton become more favorable, less favorable, or has it stayed pretty much the same?

More favorable.....	2	[31]
	1	
Less favorable.....	8	
Stayed pretty much the same . .	6	
	8	
Not sure.....	3	

- 6a. How much change do you think that Bill Clinton will bring to the country--a great deal of change, a fair amount of change, or very little change?

A great deal of change.....	2	[32]
	6	
A fair amount of change.....	4	
	9	
Very little change.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	5	

- 6b. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of personal characteristics to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Extremely confident.....	16	13	[33]
Quite confident.....	31	25	
Only somewhat confident.....	37	41	
Not at all confident.....	13	19	
Not sure.....	3	2	

- 6c. How confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of goals and policies to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Extremely confident.....	19	13	[34]
Quite confident.....	31	29	
Only somewhat confident.....	35	44	
Not at all confident.....	13	13	
Not sure.....	2	1	

**(FORM A)**

- 6d. And how confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of goals and policies in the area of foreign affairs to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	9	[35]
Quite confident.....	2	
	0	
Only somewhat confident.....	4	
	6	
Not at all confident.....	1	
	8	
Not sure.....	7	

**(FORM B)**

- 6d. And how confident are you that Bill Clinton has the right set of goals and policies in the area of economic affairs to be president of the United States--extremely confident, quite confident, only somewhat confident, or not at all confident?

Extremely confident.....	1	<b>[36]</b>
	2	
Quite confident.....	3	
	2	
Only somewhat confident.....	3	
	9	
Not at all confident.....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	4	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

7a. Are you generally pleased or disappointed with the people Bill Clinton has appointed to posts in his administration?

Pleased.....	5	[37]
	4	
Disappointed.....	1	
	4	
Mixed, pleased with some	1	
(VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	
	0	

7b. Do you believe that the people Bill Clinton has appointed to serve in his administration were selected because they were among the best people for the job, or do you think that they were mainly chosen to satisfy the demands of special interest groups and to improve the representation of women and minorities?

Best people.....	3	[38]
	2	
Satisfy special interests.....	4	
	4	
Mixed, some of both (VOL).....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

8a. Do you believe that Hillary Clinton will have the right amount of influence in the Clinton Administration, too much influence, or not enough influence in the Clinton Administration?

Right amount.....	5	[39]
	0	
Too much influence.....	3	
	5	
Not enough influence.....	6	
Not sure.....	9	

8b. Do you believe Hillary Clinton should or should not be involved in the development of major policy positions in the Clinton Administration?

Hillary Clinton should be involved.....	4	[40]
	7	
Hillary Clinton should not be involved....	4	
	5	
Not sure.....	8	

8c. Do you think that Hillary Clinton is a positive role model for American women, or not?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Hillary Clinton is positive role model.....	74	66	[41]
Hillary Clinton is not positive role model	15	21	
Not sure.....	11	13	

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED ON JANUARY 25 AND 26.)**

8d. Do you believe that the First Lady should be known as Hillary Clinton or as Hillary Rodham Clinton?

Hillary Clinton.....	62	[132]
Hillary Rodham Clinton.....	6	
Does not matter, whatever she prefers	28	
(VOL).....		



Not sure..... 4

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED ON JANUARY 25 AND 26.)**

- 8e. The Clinton Administration is considering moving the reporters who cover the president out of their work space in the White House. The reason for this move would be to make room for Hillary Clinton and her staff to work in closer proximity to President Clinton. Do you approve or disapprove of this move?

Approve.....	39	<b>[133]</b>
Disapprove.....	46	
Does not matter (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	8	

- 9a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

		<b>Regi</b>					
	<u>1/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>7/91</u>	<u>10/9</u>	
				<u>1</u>		<u>0</u>	
Approve.....	27	24	15	26	28	22	<b>[42]</b>
Disapprove.....	56	59	78	62	63	69	
Not sure.....	17	17	7	12	9	9	

- 9b. Now that the presidency and the Congress are both controlled by the same party, do you expect that Congress and the president will be able to work together to end the gridlock in Washington, or do you think things will be pretty much as they were before because Congress and the president always have differences?

President and Congress will be able to work together.....	6	<b>[43]</b>
Things will be pretty much as they were before.....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

10. From what you have seen and heard so far, do you think Bill Clinton's presidency will change the way things are done in government, or do you think it will be business as usual under the Clinton presidency?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/9</u>	
		<u>2</u>	
Things in government will change under Clinton.....	54	60	<b>[44]</b>
It will be business as usual under Clinton....	38	33	<b>1</b>
Some of both (VOL).....	4	4	
Neither (VOL).....	-	-	
Not sure.....	4	3	

- 11a. Now, I would like to read you a list of qualities. For each item, I would like you to tell me how you would rate Bill Clinton in that area using a scale from 1 to 5, on which a "5" means you would give him a very good rating, a "1" means you would give him a very poor rating, and a "3" means you would give him a mixed rating. You can use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), how would you rate Bill Clinton, using a five-point scale, on which a "5" means a very good rating, a "1" means a very poor rating, and a "3" means a mixed rating? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Very Poor		Mixed		Very Good	Not Sure	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>		
<b>(FORM A--NEXT 7 ITEMS)</b>							
His ethical and moral values. .	8	12	29	27	23	1	<b>[45]</b>
His health.....	-	3	13	22	59	3	<b>[46]</b>
Staying in touch with the American people.....	2	4	20	27	46	1	<b>[47]</b>
Serving as commander-in- chief.....	8	8	39	23	20	2	<b>[48]</b>
Representing traditional American values.....	9	7	32	23	27	2	<b>[49]</b>
Working with Congress.....	2	5	31	32	24	6	<b>[50]</b>
Standing up to pressure.....	5	6	27	29	29	4	<b>[51]</b>
<b>(FORM B--NEXT 7 ITEMS)</b>							
Achieving his goals.....	5	7	34	29	22	3	<b>[52]</b>
Keeping his word.....	17	13	34	22	12	2	<b>[53]</b>
Uniting the country.....	6	9	26	28	28	3	<b>[54]</b>
Clearly communicating his goals for the country.....	7	6	25	31	30	1	<b>[55]</b>
The quality of people he has appointed.....	6	10	34	28	15	7	<b>[56]</b>
His ability to handle a crisis...	7	11	31	23	16	12	<b>[57]</b>

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS INTERVIEWED ON JANUARY 25 AND 26.)**

- 11b. Do you approve or disapprove of Bill Clinton's goal of allowing gays and lesbians to serve in the U.S. military?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Approve.....	41	46	<b>[134]</b>
Disapprove.....	50	49	
Not sure.....	9	5	

- 12a. Let me read you a list of goals that have been proposed for the federal government to achieve. Please tell me which one of these goals you think should be the top priority for the federal government. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Q.12a Top Priority		Q.12b. Next Top Priority		Combine d Priority
Reducing the federal budget deficit....	31	<b>[58]</b>	22	<b>[59]</b>	53
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interests.....	7		10		17
Stimulating economic growth.....	24		17		41
Dealing with U.S. foreign policy issues and crises.....	4		8		12
Reforming the health care system.....	18		24		42
Cutting taxes for the middle class.....	11		13		24
Other (VOL).....	-	<b>SKIP TO Q.12c/FORM B</b>	-		-
All equally (VOL).....	4		-		4
None of these (VOL).....	-	<b>SKIP TO Q.13/FORM A</b>	-		-
Not sure.....	1		1		2
No top priority.....	NA		5		NA

**(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHOSE A TOP PRIORITY IN Q.12a.)**

- 12b. And which of these goals do you think should be the next top priority for the federal government to accomplish? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD UNDER COLUMN Q.12b. ABOVE.)**

**(ASK EVERYONE--FORM B)**

- 12c. Now I would like to read you that list of goals again. For each one, please tell me whether you think Bill Clinton will be able to achieve this goal or not.

**(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) When it comes to (READ ITEM), do you think Bill Clinton will be able to accomplish this goal or not? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Clinton Will Be Able To Accomplish	Clinton Will Not Be Able To Accomplish	Not Sure	
Reducing the federal budget deficit.....	40	52	8	<b>[60]</b>
Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interests.....	42	47	11	[61]
Stimulating economic growth.....	73	17	10	[62]
Dealing with U.S. foreign policy issues and crises.....	62	24	14	[63]
Reforming the health care system.....	66	25	9	[64]
Cutting taxes for the middle class.....	29	63	8	[65]

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

13. Which party do you think is more influenced by special interests and lobbyists--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

Democratic Party.....	32	<b>[66</b>
		<b>]</b>
Republican Party.....	34	
Both equally (VOL).....	23	
Not sure.....	11	

**(FORM A)**

14. As you may know, many working Americans currently do not have health insurance coverage. I am going to read you three possible solutions to this problem. Please tell me which of these three possible solutions you think would be the best. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

All employers should be required to buy health insurance for all workers.....	36	<b>[67</b>
		<b>]</b>
The government should provide health insurance for those who do not have it.....	39	
Workers who do not have health insurance should buy their own or else remain uninsured.....	11	
Other/none (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	6	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

15. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closer to your point of view on Bill Clinton's goals and promises. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE.)**

**STATEMENT A:** Bill Clinton may need to go back on some of the specific promises he made during the campaign, in order to achieve his goals for the country.

**OR**

**STATEMENT B:** Bill Clinton should keep the promises he made during the campaign, because if he doesn't do so, he won't achieve his goals for the country.

Statement A/may need to go back on promises.....	60	<b>[68</b>
		<b>]</b>
Statement B/should keep his promises.....	35	
Some of both (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	2	

16. Please tell me which one of these statements comes closest to your point of view on Bill Clinton's priorities as president. **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE FIRST TWO, BUT ALWAYS READ STATEMENT "C" LAST.)**

**STATEMENT A:** Bill Clinton will spend too much time and attention on foreign affairs and will not pay enough attention to the domestic goals.

**OR**

**STATEMENT B:** Bill Clinton will spend too much time and attention on the domestic goals and will not pay enough attention to foreign affairs.

**OR**

**STATEMENT C:** Bill Clinton will reach the right balance between foreign affairs and domestic goals.

Statement A/too much foreign/not enough domestic.....	7	<b>[69</b>
		<b>]</b>
Statement B/too much domestic/not enough foreign.....	30	
Statement C/right balance.....	58	
Not sure.....	5	

17a. Would you or would you not like to see Ross Perot continue to play a role in politics and public affairs during the next four years?

Would like to see Ross Perot play a role.....	6	<b>[70]</b>
	5	
Would not like to see Ross Perot play a role.....	2	
	9	
Not sure.....	6	

- 17b. In recent days, Ross Perot has been promoting a membership drive for his organization "United We Stand, America." Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about why Ross Perot is back in the news? (READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

Ross Perot is trying to unite his supporters to influence government policy.....	4	<b>[71]</b>
	4	
Ross Perot is laying the groundwork to run for president in 1996....	2	
	9	
Ross Perot is seeking public attention for himself.....	1	
	9	
Ross Perot is trying to damage Bill Clinton.....	3	
None of these (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM A)**

- 17c. Do you believe that Ross Perot will have a great deal of influence on public policy during the next four years, just some influence, or very little influence on public policy during the next four years?

A great deal of influence.....	1	<b>[72]</b>
	1	
Just some influence.....	4	
	9	
Very little influence.....	3	
	8	
Not sure.....	2	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

18. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Will get better.....	50	53	32	31	<b>[73]</b>
Will get worse.....	9	10	20	24	
Will stay about the same.....	39	35	45	40	
Not sure.....	2	2	3	5	

19. I'd like to ask you to rate the degree of hope and optimism you have about the next four years as either very optimistic, somewhat optimistic, mixed, somewhat pessimistic, or very pessimistic.

Very optimistic.....	2	<b>[74]</b>
	2	
Somewhat optimistic.....	3	
	9	
Mixed.....	2	
	4	
Somewhat pessimistic.....	9	
Very pessimistic.....	5	
Not sure.....	1	

20. Thinking about the conditions facing Bill Clinton as he becomes president, do you think they are more difficult, about the same, or less difficult than those that faced George Bush when he became president?

More difficult.....	5	<b>[75]</b>
	5	
About the same.....	3	
	4	
Less difficult.....	9	

Not sure..... 2



21. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important economic issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
Inflation.....	7	6	7	11	[76]
Unemployment.....	44	46	46	37	
Interest rates.....	2	3	2	3	
The federal budget deficit.....	28	24	22	21	
Federal taxes.....	5	5	5	7	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	8	10	8	8	
All equally important (VOL).....	5	5	8	10	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	1	1	2	3	

**Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about taxes.**

- 22a. Do you believe that it will or will not be necessary for Congress to raise taxes in the next year to reduce the budget deficit?

Tax increase will be necessary...	6	<b>[77]</b>
	9	
Tax increase will not be necessary.....	2	
	7	
Not sure.....	4	

- 22b. Do you believe that your own personal taxes will go up, or not? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** Do you think they will go up a lot or just a little?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>Regist</u>		
		<u>1/93</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Taxes will go up a lot.....	24	25	34	[78]
Taxes will go up a little.....	55	55	41	
Taxes will not go up.....	15	14	18	
Not sure.....	6	6	7	

- 22c. Do you think President Clinton and Congress will or will not raise taxes during the coming year? **(IF YES, ASK:)** Do you think that they will raise taxes only on upper-income Americans who earn more than \$200,000 per year, or will they raise taxes on Americans with incomes under \$200,000 as well?

Taxes will be raised only for those earning over \$200,000.....	12	[79]
Taxes will be raised for those with incomes under \$200,000 as well.....	61	
Taxes will not be raised.....	19	
Not sure.....	8	

- 22d. Do you think that a tax cut for the middle class would help the economy, hurt the economy, or would it make no difference to the economy?

	<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	
Tax cut would help economy.....	40	46	<b>[80]</b>
Tax cut would hurt economy.....	17	11	
Tax cut would make no difference to the economy.....	37	38	
Not sure.....	6	5	

23. I am going to read you a list of priorities for the federal government that might require taxes to be raised. For each item that I read, please tell me whether you would be willing to pay higher taxes in order to achieve that goal. **(FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) In order to (READ ITEM), would you be willing or would you not be willing to pay higher taxes? (START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Willing To Pay Higher <u>Taxes</u>	Not Willing To Pay Higher <u>Taxes</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Reduce the federal budget deficit.....	58	40	2	<b>[81]</b>
Improve our transportation and communication systems.....	33	65	2	[82]
Improve the quality of education.....	78	20	2	[83]
Improve access to health care .....	75	23	2	[84]
Provide aid to city and state governments.....	30	66	4	[85]

**(FORM A)**

24. Do you think that the government should gradually raise the retirement age so that people qualify for full Social Security benefits at age 67 rather than at age 65, or should the age for receiving Social Security benefits be kept at 65?

Raise age for receiving Social Security benefits to 67.....	2	<b>[86]</b>
	0	
Keep age for receiving Social Security benefits at 65.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	3	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

- 25a. If the federal government decided it had to increase taxes substantially in order to reduce the deficit, which of the following types of tax increases would you think is the most acceptable? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Q.25a Most Acceptabl e Tax <u>Increase</u>		Q.25b Least Acceptabl e Tax <u>Increase</u>	
A major increase in gasoline taxes.....	24	[87]	26	<b>[88]</b>
A new tax on all forms of energy.....	9		17	
A national sales tax.....	27		17	
An across-the-board income tax increase.....	31		33	
Not sure.....	9		7	

- 25b. And which of these types of taxes would you consider the least acceptable? **(READ LIST AGAIN. RECORD ANSWER UNDER Q.25b ABOVE.)**

**(FORM A)**

- 26a. Do you think that upper-income Americans pay their fair share of taxes, or not?

Pay their fair share.....	1	<b>[89]</b>
	9	
Do not pay their fair share.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	4	

**(FORM B)**

- 26b. Do you think that foreign businesses who employ people in the U.S. pay taxes equal to U.S. companies, or not?

Pay taxes equal to U.S. companies.....	1	<b>[90]</b>
	4	
Do not pay taxes equal to U.S.	6	
companies.....	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	7	

**(BOTH FORMS.)**

27. Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

		<b>Registe</b>			
	<u>1/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>10/92*</u>	<u>9/92*</u>	
Favor NAFTA.....	28	28	21	27	<b>[91]</b>
Oppose NAFTA.....	31	32	37	34	
Have not heard enough yet.....	36	35	38	35	
Not sure.....	5	5	4	4	

**Now I would like to ask you some questions about foreign policy.**

- 28a. Should President Clinton continue the policies of President Bush toward Iraq, or do you believe he should change the Bush policy toward Iraq?

Continue Bush policy toward	7	<b>[92]</b>
Iraq.....	4	
Change Bush policy toward Iraq	1	
Not sure.....	9	
	7	

- 28b. Do you feel comfortable or not comfortable with Bill Clinton's ability to handle the American foreign policy toward Iraq?

Comfortable.....	6	<b>[93]</b>
	4	
Not comfortable.....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

**(FORM A)**

- 28c. If Saddam Hussein changes his behavior and lives up to his agreement to abide by the U.N. resolution on the cease fire from the Gulf War, should the U.S. establish normal relations with Iraq or not?

Should establish normal relations .....	3	<b>[94]</b>
	8	
Should not establish normal relations .....	5	
	5	
Not sure.....	7	

**(BOTH FORMS)**

29. Because of the military dictatorship in Haiti, many Haitians have come to the United States seeking political asylum. As long as this dictatorship remains in power, do you think the U.S. should or should not allow refugees from Haiti to have political asylum in the United States?

Approve of allowing Haitians asylum.....	2	<b>[95]</b>
	7	
Disapprove of allowing Haitians asylum.....	6	
	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

30. Do you favor or oppose the United States sending troops to the former Yugoslavia to try to help stop the civil war there?

		Re			
<u>1/93</u>	<u>12/92</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>8/92</u>	<u>7/92</u>
		3	2		

Favor sending troops to the former Yugoslavia.....	34	26	33	26	33	27	<b>[96]</b>
Oppose sending troops to Yugoslavia.....	54	62	55	63	54	65	
Not sure.....	12	12	12	11	13	8	

31. Do you believe that the world is a safer place now than it was one year ago, is less safe now than it was one year ago, or is about as safe a place now as it was one year ago?

Safer place now than one year ago.....	1	<b>[97]</b>
	7	
A less safe place now than one year ago.	3	
	0	
About as safe a place now as one year ago.....	5	
	2	
Not sure.....	1	

32. Finally, who do you want to win this year's Super Bowl? **(READ CHOICES. ROTATE CHOICES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

The Dallas Cowboys.....	4	<b>[98]</b>
	5	
<b>OR</b>		
The Buffalo Bills.....	3	
	3	
Don't care/neither (VOL).....	1	
	8	
Not sure.....	4	

FACTUALS: **Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.**

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

**(IF "YES," ASK:)** For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

Didn't vote.....	1	<b>[100]</b>
	7	
Voted for George Bush.....	2	
	5	
Voted for Bill Clinton.....	3	
	6	
Voted for Ross Perot.....	1	
	4	
Other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Too young (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	<b>[101]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	2	
	0	
Moderate.....	2	
	5	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	1	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	1	
	7	
Not sure.....	2	

- F3. And generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

**(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")**

**(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	2	[102]
	0	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	8	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Republican.....	6	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	0	
Other.....	4	
Refused.....	-	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

- F4. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	[103]
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	9	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	7	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

- F5. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	7	[104]
	2			
25-29.....	1	50-54.....	7	
	1			
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	6	
	3			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	1			
40-44.....	9	65 and over.....	17	
		Refused.....	1	

- F6. What type of work do you do?

Professional/manager.....	2	[105]
	3	
White collar worker.....	1	
	9	

Blue collar worker.....	2
	4
Farmer.....	1
Student.....	4
Homemaker.....	1
	5
Retired.....	1
	0
Unemployed.....	3
Never worked/not sure.....	1



**(ASK OF ALL WOMEN)**

F7. Do you work outside the home or not?

Work outside the home.....	3	<b>[106]</b>
	0	
Do not work outside the home.....	2	
	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

**(ASK EVERYONE.)**

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	<b>[107]</b>
	0	
Catholic.....	3	
	1	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	1	
	2	
None.....	4	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	80	<b>[108]</b>
Black.....	11	
Hispanic.....	6	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	1	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	<b>[109]</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	6	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	4	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	7	